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# Morning

# Oregonian.

VOL. XXIX.—NO. 8899.

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**LINCOLN AND NEGRO TROOPS.**

The April chapter of the Century "Life of Lincoln" is devoted largely to negro soldiers to the draft and to the resistance of the colored democracy to its enforcement. The wisdom of Lincoln's policy of arming the blacks, declared in the final emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863, was attested by the fact that during the last two years of the war 180,000 negro troops were mustered into service. Had Lincoln anticipated the growth of popular sentiment and ordered the arming of negro troops when first urged upon him by Fremont and Secretary Cameron in 1861, and by General Hunter in May 1862, his administration would have been reduced to a political wreck, but Lincoln waited until disaster East and West in the battle summer, autumn and winter of 1862 had called for the measure, and then he declared for emancipation and the arming of the blacks, confident that defeat had made every true Union man in the border states and the doubtful republicans too desperate that there would no longer be opposition to the policy. The wonder is not that Lincoln had the courage, or that he had the resolution and the patience to withstand the impatience and poor judgment of his rash advisers, but the marvel is that he was so sensitive to the best of the people of the country that he was able to shoot his last bolt at the opportune moment.

His proclamation of January 1, 1863, was "a shot that echoes round the world," for while technically it mere re-creation of the Illinois war powers of the executive, it really possessed a moral as well as a mere military momentum. It filled the highest and noblest type of Union men with fresh hope and moral courage, and it was adopted in a single year over 70,000 colored men to the army, releasing 70,000 excellent white troops from garrison duty for service at the front. The great proclamation might have done a small shell throw into the enemy's camp that carried with it not only military weight but moral explosives. Jeff Davis endeavored to move Lincoln from his purpose by procuring the passage of a joint resolution by the Confederate congress in April, 1863, which prescribed that white officers of negro Union soldiers "shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court," the trial to take place "before the military court attached to the army or corps" making the capture, or such other military court as the Confederate president should designate. The Confederate war department also issued the following order:

"The Major-General Hunter and Brigadier-General Phelps are to be no longer held and treated as public enemies of the Confederate states, but as traitors, and that in the event of the capture of either of them, or of any other commissioned officer employed in gallantry, or in the capturing of straying slaves, with a view to their armed service in this war, he shall not be regarded as a prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon at such time and place as the president shall order.

When the massacre of Fort Pillow occurred Lincoln's humanity asserted itself. He said to Fred Douglass that he "could not take men out and kill them in cold blood for what was done by others." If he could get hold of the persons who were guilty of killing the colored prisoners in cold blood, the court would be different, but he could not kill the innocent for the guilty." In this view he was sustained by Blair, Bates and Underhill and his cabinet. For the credit of humanity it was fortunate that the rebel government did not persist in the barbarous policy it had officially announced, and Lincoln was not compelled to order a sanguinary retaliation that seemed necessary. Nevertheless, the Fort Pillow massacre like the "Andersonville prison pen," is among the inexcusable acts of infamy of that disgraced administration of Jeff Davis. The probability is that Davis would have persisted in his barbarous policy had it not been for the remonstrances of Lee, Longstreet and other humane soldiers who pointed out to him that such a policy would force the United States into the acceptance of a policy of retaliation that would reduce our civil war to the degradation of the military code of a pirate ship, or the amenities of an insurrection in Hayti or Peru. And Davis, in his last extremity, even recommended that the Fort Pillow massacre be avenged in encamping, marching and moving trains, and employed no pioneer and engineer laborers. The proposition to arm the slaves as soldiers Davis shrank from, and so did the Confederate congress, because, as a Confederate writer expressed it, "it was an admission of the inherent injustice of slavery; that if the negro was fit to be a soldier he was not fit to be a slave," that the proposition "cut under the traditions and theories of three generations in the South," and that "by a few strokes of the pen the Confederate government had subscribed to the main tenet of the abolition party in the North and all its consequences, standing exposed and stultified before the world." General Lee, however, on the 11th of January and the 18th of February, 1865, wrote letters to the Confederate congress in which he declared the measure of employing negro soldiers "not only expedient, but necessary," and recommended that the Confederate president be empowered "to call upon individuals or states for such as they are willing to contribute, with the condition of emancipation to all enrolled." The Confederate congress, however, only consented to authorize the president to receive into the military service such able-bodied slaves as might be honorably tendered by their masters, to be employed in winter service capacity he might direct, no change to be made in the relation of owners of slaves, at least so far as it appeared in the bill.

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## The Oregonian.

PORTLAND, THURSDAY, APRIL 4.

## NO REMOVALS WITHOUT CAUSE.

A week ago the New York World had a statement from a member of the cabinet through its Washington correspondent, that there were to be no removals "without cause." And the cause must be a real one, relating to the character or efficiency of the official. "No democrat who is an efficient officer will, as a rule, be turned out before the expiration of his term, because he is a democrat," said the cabinet officer. "Removals will not be made for purely political reasons."

There are indications that this principle will be strictly observed and enforced. All the "pressure" that has been brought to bear at Washington has failed to effect removals. The senate has adjourned, and it is announced that the president is about to leave the capital and be absent eight or ten days "for the disengagement of office-seekers."

President Harrison has been very accessible since his term of office began, but has been subjected to great importunity on the part of office-seekers, both by senators, representative and influential politicians; and he has been firm and immovable in his stand against a "clean sweep." Of the individuals who went to Washington in pursuit of office have been successful, and except in the higher diplomatic and administrative service, where it is necessary for each administration to have its own agents, there have been no removals.

Thus far, therefore, President Harrison has adhered to the principle that there are to be "no removals without cause," and there is reason to believe that he will adhere to it throughout his term. This will be the greatest gain to the cause of reform ever recorded. There are multitudes, indeed, who cannot but think it was right that the vast army of men who left Cleveland last fall should be removed in violation of this principle, but it is clear that, is that the same laws should be enforced against them which they so easily invoked against those places they sought, and received. This would be the correct view, if only the private aspects of the case were to be considered. But, since the business presents itself as a principle in the administration of public affairs, the case is altogether different. The men who were unfriendly disposed from office by the Cleveland administration cannot claim personal vindication by reinstatement, for it is not a personal matter. The thing to be done is to vindicate the principle the Cleveland administration so frequently and grossly violated, namely, that there shall be no removals without adequate cause.

It is a good time to recall the fact that President Washington made but two removals, and the first Adams, the same number. Jefferson made thirty-nine removals in eight years, most of them for cause aside from political. Monroe and the first Adams made but twenty removals altogether. Though the government in those early days was but a small affair compared with the government now, nevertheless a proportion of removals now no longer than the proportion then would scarcely be noticed. Civil service reform, as a rule, is established and maintained to the extent of allowing officials of good character and efficiency, who are at the same time free from offensive partisanship and intermeddling in politics, to serve out the terms for which they are appointed. But beyond this, any reform is merely theoretical or fanciful, and will not be sustained by the people.

## THE ENGLISH MISSION.

The New York Times, whether correct in its conclusions or not, does great credit to President Harrison's good sense in assigning a reason for Whitehead Reid being sent to Paris instead of London. The reason is that President Harrison did not wish to have his administration responsible for an anti-syndicalistic, fast-hunting minister to St. James, to rivel the careers of Phelps and Lowell. The Irish, especially, would resent seeing an American minister made the creature of British society, led captive by the flattery and seductions of aristocratic high life. The ambition of Phelps seemed to be to shine in aristocratic circles, and follow the footsteps of Lowell, who went to England beloved as the favorite living American poet, yet so acted the snob there as almost to lose affiliation with the common people of America, who had been his ardent admirers. He had run with dukes and noblemen with prides and a mere lord was nothing to speak of, and a common gentleman was nothing to him. It was well known that Lowell was thinking of making his home with English society, and spending his declining years across the water, adopting the mother country as his home and becoming a son of the old soil. Probably he found that as minister to St. James he was honored above his deserts, and that his successor had only to lose himself with the "well nob" to become as great a favorite. It is English policy to adopt the ambassador from the United States into the inner circle of aristocratic society, and the two last representatives of this country, Lowell and Phelps, were able to shine in any society to advantage.

The Times figures it up that Whitehead Reid was ambitious to be a follower of those great lords and aristocrats whom he so much admired. As a man of wealth he could afford to live like a lord, and had he gone to London would have done. Such a career, while flattering to the pride of Whitehead Reid, would not be creditable to the wisdom of Harrison. France is even gayer in social splendor than England, and Harrison chose that Reid should become a shining light at Paris rather than a favorite with the English aristocracy at London.

Whatever foundation there is for the story, the selection of Robert Lincoln for the English mission in preference to Whitehead Reid is proof of wisdom. Lincoln was not a candidate, so far as we know, and the honor failing to him deserved to be the more falling to the aristocratic circle.

There is no proof but every reason to report that Whitehead Reid expected to go to London. Harrison has evidently acted on his own motion, in all the great appointments, and no attempt has been made by Blaine to control any of these nominations. The mud-sling press has been busy and has done lively work in the line of rumors. Just at present that branch of journalism occupies a very nondescript position. To use a very old simile, "neither fish, flesh nor fowl," and its influence has fallen to zero. If it stays there, the result cannot be very prejudicial to good morals or correct political principles.

## MOVING TO TOWN.

Do the hundreds who offer to sell their farms in this Willamette valley realize that land of their own and a home and ability to make a living by their own labor on their own land are things to be desired? No state agents are going about the country securing contracts from farmers for the sale of their land. A large emigration is pouring into Oregon, searching for good land, and these land agents are mostly trying to do business and make money. The man who has too much land can well afford to sell a part and benefit himself and the country. In the same neighborhood some are selling their farms, while others are buying more land. Both may be mistaken. A farm and home may be a great fortune, but is a sure living, when well managed. To sell land to move to town is risky business. A land agent when asked what reasons per-

suade him to sell out, says, "I want to move to town. A town lot and house don't do much towards a living, and it takes a farm to support a town home. The man who realizes \$3000 to \$6000 from a farm and moves to town—any town—will be apt to wish himself back on the farm many a time. There are many who own too much land, and the country will be more prosperous and have a better price, if large tracts are divided into small farms and well farmed. But it isn't best to sell out everything and move to town."

## MOSSBACKISM IN CHINA.

The latest reports from China are that the conservative party in the government has secured complete control of the new emperor, and has all the plans for the extension of the Tien-Tsin-Hai-Ping railroad toward Peking. The throne has been forced to withdraw its sanction for the extension, and to forbid all further proceedings on the part of the company. The proposals recently sent in for the rails and cross ties have been rejected, and the loan offered by the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank has been, or soon will be, canceled. If this news is correct it means the political death of Li Hung Chang, the great vicere, who had been supported by his progressive policy steadily by the father of the present emperor and by the late empress regent. This extension that has been stopped is one of direct route from Tientsin to Peking, the principal port of North China, to Peking, the seat of the emperor, over which there is an immense traffic by junk along the Peho and the Kiel Canal, and by caravans, wheelbarrows, and coolies along the highway. Every great official from the southern and central provinces, or from the country tributary to the Yang-tse-kiang, in visiting or returning from the capital passes over this route.

The New York Sun recites these facts and gives the serious consequences of this conservative control of the emperor and the re-pudiation of the great progressive statesman, Li Hung Chang: "A railroad on this route could not fail to pay, but which is still more important is the fact that such a railroad, unlike the one connect Tientsin and Taku with the coast at Kiating, and thence inland through the plateau and hilly central country north and east of the Peho, would be seen by the grandees, as well as by the merchants and under officials, and would therefore be known and popularized throughout the empire. When it is remembered besides that the section of railroad from Tientsin to Tung Chow would also form a part of the great trunk line from Tung-chin-Kiang on the Yang-tse, it will be readily understood. It is really the key to the future railroad system of China, and hence all syndicates and railroad builders who have visited that country have had their eyes upon it. Its construction, if allowed, would be the sure precursor of a genuine awakening of China."

## SMALL AMOUNT OF RAIN.

The residents of the Pacific Northwest have no knowledge of any year they may say equals the three first months of 1889 during the autumn and early winter up to Janus 1. We are still getting rain, though unbroken, and there is not sufficient fall of water to fill the earth, or even to put water in wells of considerable depth. We are now in April and the rainfall of the three months from January to this time is not over half the usual quantity. California and the country east of the Cascade mountains speak of rain east of the mountains, but the rain that answer all needs to insure good crops. It is true of those sections, they are much better off than Western Oregon, for there has been so moderate a rainfall that the ground of the Willamette valley is not down to sufficient depth to insure against a severe drought should the summer be hot and dry. There was but little rain last spring, and none at all in May, but June proved to be a month of showers that were joyous and plentiful. The rains are yet to come, but we may be able to guess that there is little reason to expect two years in succession with such meager moisture.

The female, after working for nearly a month on the confirmation of appointments made by the president, has disbanded. The record of that month has not been entirely complimentary to that body, but there is no evidence that the action of certain members reflected the equanimity of the president, or introduced an element of discord into his administration. The revengeful sun found his opportunity and improved it, but with infinitely more discredit to himself than to candidates who joined the democrats in rejecting. It seems to be the fate of the republican party to always have a bad year, and a few such men as a legislative body in which that party is in the majority, and action based upon reasons similar to those that caused the rejection of Blodget as minister to Germany, is always among the probabilities.

A democratic history is reported in Chicago. In that city, as in most other large cities of the United States, the strength of the democratic party is increasing. In Chicago there is a very large and constantly growing middle class, which, impatient of the necessary restraints of government, makes the democratic party under no in-

sight that that party is more "liberal" than others in its views concerning socialism, anarchism and disorders of the peace in general; and when good citizens are divided between the parties, this whole turbulent vote, planned for the democracy, gives that party the victory. An inevitable consequence is so corrupt and rotten a government that good citizens, without regard to party, unite after a time to "turn the rascals out."

Missouri is likely soon to be without citizen-soldiers. The legislature has for two years past refused to make an appropriation for the support of the state militia, and the various companies are disbanding. Among these is the St. Louis light cavalry, the finest military organization in the state, it having been in existence eleven years. State militia is one of those things that rather more ornamental than useful. It is a good idea to keep it, but it is not a good idea to let it stand idle. To stand still is certainly a state, since if the intention of the legislature is to dispense with it, there is a more open and honorable way of doing so.

Emperor William expects to visit England. There is some speculation as to whether he will go to London as emperor of Germany, or possibly as the queen's grandson. There should be no doubt about this point. His majesty is thoroughly German in birth and training, and this dispose of the "grandmother" question as far as anything connected with his rank and position is concerned. He has been known to refer to "my grandmother" but never to "my grandmother." He is a thorough Brandenburger in this respect, and will, no doubt, visit Windsor as William, emperor of Germany.

As previously noted, the bill granting municipal suffrage to women, failed in the New York assembly a few days ago, a majority of nine votes being recorded against it. Hope that spring eternal in the breast of the woman suffragist is not dispelled by this adverse vote. The advocates of the measure expect to secure its reconsideration, when they claim that the necessary nine votes will be secured. The same bill passed the state of that state last year, and its success is fully expected in that branch of the legislative body, should it pass the assembly. If none of these hopes prove abortive, Governor Hill's opportunity will come. He is not the best humor possible, as the democratic tide went out, leaving him stranded

upon obstructions thrown across his political channel by Cleveland, and he will doubtless take a grim delight in blighting the political aspirations of women who, as "Isiah Allen's wife" puts it, are "clamoring for a ride."

Says the Pittsburgh Dispatch: "Hail Hailstead kept quiet about the notorious bribery of the Ohio legislature, but for his approval of what is to Germany would have been shameful; but because he denounced the bribe and exposed the beneficiary's admission to the senate, that body has no use for him." The gang of hoodlums in the senate are determined to protect each other.

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